A

SERMON

Preach'd before the

KING

AT

WHITE-HALL,

Jan. 30. 167⅘.

At the Anniversary Commemoration of the MARTYRDOM of

King Charles I.

By *George Stradling*, D. D. Dean of *Chichester*, and one of His Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary.

Printed by His Majesties special Command.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Mortlock* at the *Phœnix* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and the White Hart in *Westminster*-Hall. 1675.

A

SERMON

Preach'd before the

St. *Joh.*19.15. the latter part of the Verſe.

——*Pilate ſaith unto them, Shall I Crucifie your King? The chief Prieſts anſwered, We have no King but Cæſar.*

IT is a great and common fault of mankind to be over-curious in finding out the reaſons of Gods Providence, every one preſuming to ſound that bottomleſs *Deep* with his own ſcant line and plummet. Sin and puniſhment are ſo nearly related, that when the Lord has markt any one with ſome ſignal Judgement, we preſently raiſe hue and cry againſt him and are ready to fall upon him as one ſingled out for deſtruction, thinking that warrant enough to condemn *whom God has ſmitten*, and to make him the executioner of our raſh and unadviſed ſentences. *Who did ſin; this man, or his Parents, that he was born blind?* was once the queſtion of Chriſts Joh. 9. 2.
Diſciples; and the beſt of us are apt enough to make too particular applications to perſons, to meaſure the heinouſneſs of their offences by the greatneſs of their viſible ſufferings. Thus the Barbarians ſeeing a Viper faſtned to St. *Paul*'s hand, immediately vote him no leſs than a Act. 28. 4.

murderer; the uncharitable errour too of ſome, in the caſe of thoſe Galileans *whoſe blood Pilate had mingled with their Sacrifices.* St. Luke 13. 1.

Luk. 13. 1.

If ſuch concluſions as theſe ſhould paſs for good, we ſhould inevitably *condemn the generation of Gods Children,* who commonly have a double portion of temporal afflictions; Every judgement on the holieſt perſon ſhould then be conſtrued a Reprobation; He that eſcapes the laſh here, ſhould then be the Son, and he that ſmarts under it, the Baſtard; and by this argument we ſhould conclude, that God loves the Tents of Robbers more than *the place where his honour dwelleth,* as oft as he ſpares their Dens and fires his own Temple.

I need not tell you how ſevere ſome of late have been in their reflections not only on private but publick perſons, even to the branding of Gods own Vicegerents and particularly our late Soveraign, whoſe greateſt Crime 'twas to have been Unhappy. Their words as well as actions have ſufficiently expreſt their Charity to Him on this account, nothing having been more familiar with them than to make his ſufferings an argument of Gods rejecting Him, and a Plea for all thoſe affronts they ſhould offer to his Perſon or Dignity. The *Mene Tekel* was legible to every Paſſer by; Each one, though never ſo unlearned, could decipher the bloody characters, and pronounce the fatal ſentence; *God hath forſaken him, perſecute and take him, for there is none to deliver him,* was the language of our modern Sons of *Belial* againſt this our *David*; not conſidering that Princes have their failings as well as other men, That no condition whatſoever is exempt from a Divine Judgement, No Lawrel of proof againſt God's Thunderbolts, nor any Crown a ſufficient fence againſt an Almighty ſtroke; That God is pleaſed ſometimes to exerciſe his Soveraign power and Empire over the Great ones of the Earth, to teach their Scepters to bow to his; That the Beſt of Kings may be the unhappieſt

Pſal. 71. 9.

v. Pſal. 106. 32.

pieſt here, and be puniſhed ſometimes not ſo much for their own as for their ſubjects faults; or, if for their own, only to brighten their graces, and to give them an advantage of purchaſing to themſelves more glorious Crowns in Heaven than they wear here on Earth.

There is enough in this Chapter to ſecure this truth, where we may behold *The King of Kings*, in whom there was no *Guile*, no ſin but what of ours He took upon Him, *ſuffering the contradiction of ſinners*, made the very *ſcorn of men and the outcaſt of the People*: And after ſuch an example it can be no ſtrange thing to ſee his Deputy ſo ill treated, who as innocent as he was, was not impeccable, and yet ſo innocent and vertuous too, that all the Records of Hiſtory can ſcarce furniſh us with ſo excellent a Prince nor perhaps with ſo unfortunate, as if God had raiſed him up like another St. *Paul* to ſhew how great things he ſhould *ſuffer* as well as do for Him; One whoſe Afflictions were great as Himſelf, and only leſs than his Saviours, but withal ſo like that 'tis hard to diſtinguiſh them; Each of them undergoing the Pageantry of a Judicial tryal, delivered up out of envy to the rage and malice of an incenſed Rout and the Power of a corrupt Judge. And yet as corrupt as our Saviours was, he was ſtill a Judge, as Lawful a one as the Roman Power could make him; whereas Ours here had neither the Authority of a *Pilate*, nor yet the Innocence or Compaſſion. 'Twas *Pilate*'s ſad fate to conteſt with an enraged multitude, whom 'twas unſafe to diſpleaſe, and as dangerous to humour. On the one hand, violently to oppoſe them, was to reſiſt a torrent, to draw upon himſelf the hatred of a whole Nation, and perhaps *Cæſar*'s too; and on the other, to gratifie them, was to make himſelf his own Enemy by caſting the Innocent; ſo that *Pilate* could neither well abſolve Chriſt, nor yet Condemn him. In this ſad ſtreight ſee how uneaſie he is under the apprehenſion of his own guilt and the

Act. 9. 16.

Peoples.

Peoples fury, the former the much heavier load of the two, which he uſes all poſſible arts to ſhift off.

1. By endeavouring to clear our Saviours Innocence, the Judge himſelf becoming his Advocate and Jury too,
Joh. 18. 38. paſſing his Verdict of not guilty, *I find in Him no fault at all.*

2. By expoſing Him all in blood as a ſpectacle of mi-
c. 19. 14. ſery to excite their pitty and Compaſſion, *Behold your King.*

3. By ſeeking to divert their rage on one who did
c. 18. 40. really deſerve it, as being both a Traytor and a Murderer; and when all this would not do,

4. He produceth his laſt and ſtrongeſt argument to deterr them from ſo horrid and impious an attempt, namely, That He whoſe blood they ſo much thirſted for, was not only an innocent Man, but a King; and, which was more, Their King; The offering violence to ſuch a perſon, being in his apprehenſion ſo unparallel'd a crime, that no precedent could warrant it; ſo that *Pilate* himſelf is ſtartled at the very thought of it, and in a juſt indignation of being made the inſtrument of ſo foul a Treaſon breaks forth into this Pathetical queſtion in the Text, *Shall I Crucifie your King?* Which whether he did really take him for, or only ſpake it by way of jeer and deriſion, yet from the very ſuppoſition we may argue, How ſacred the Perſon of a King was held to be in the judgement of a Heathen and him none of the beſt, and of the worſt of Jews too by the anſwer they make him, owning his reaſon for good upon ſuppoſition, That Chriſt had been their King, *We have no King but Cæſar:* As if they ſhould have ſaid, True indeed, were this man a King, much more, Our King, we could have no tolerable Plea or Excuſe for theſe our proceedings againſt him; But here is *Error Perſonæ*, Thou miſtakeſt the Perſon, *Cæſar*, not this man, is Our King, and therefore take heed what thou doeſt, leſt thou make *Cæſar* thine

thine Enemy by setting up a Competitor against him.

From the words thus explained we may clearly infer this general Conclusion, That Every Natural and Lawful Prince ought to be sacred, supream, and consequently Inviolable, and that The Division

1. By the Confession of Heathens and of Jews; and that this was their Judgement, I shall endeavour in the first place to make out distinctly unto you.

2. And in the second, I shall shew you, how vile these Jews were, how false to their God and to themselves too, in owning *Cæsar* for their King, and disowning Christ.

3. To compleat my discourse, I shall give you the sence of Christ, his Apostles and primitive Doctors as to matter of subjection to Soveraign Princes; and so close up all with some application to our present Occasion.

I begin with the first thing in the proposed order; namely, the judgement of Heathens as to the sacredness of the persons of Kings, imply'd in this Question, *Shall I Crucifie your King?*

The first Part.

A strange thing this, to a *Pilate*, as indeed to all Heathens, with whom Monarchy was a sacred thing, as having a Divine, at least, a Natural Original. That they deriv'd it from *Jupiter* is clear from their ἐκ Διὸς Βασιλῆες, and those high Titles they gave Kings of Διογενεῖς and Διοτρεφεῖς, so frequent among them. That 'twas founded in Nature, *Seneca* tells us: Nature, sayes he, did first invent a King. His instance is in Bees, and he observes it also in other Creatures. And indeed what was the 1. Of the judgement of Heathens.

Natura commenta est Regem; quod & ex aliis animalibus licet cognoscere & ex apibus, lib. 1. de Clementiâ, c. 15.

the first man, in the design of his Creation, but an Universal Monarch: *Polyarchy* came in with Sin and the Curse, and Common-wealths are but Puny States to Monarchy. This is plainly confest by *Tully* who reckons it *inter Notiora*, among the most certain known truths, That all Nations of old were subject to Kings. * *Justin* sayes the very same thing, and *Tacitus* particularly affirms this to have been the ancient Roman Government, in the very first words of his *Annals*.

Omnes Antiquæ Gentes Regibus quondam paruerunt. Cicero lib. 3. de legibus, initio.

* *Justin. lib.* 1. *c.* 1.

Tacit. Annal. 1.

But besides the unanimous consent and inclination of all Nations to this form of Government, It's having been exercised by Fathers of Families in the first Ages of the World for at least three thousand years, strongly confirms it. That *Noah* had this power we may collect from *Gen.* 9. 25. And *Abraham* is therefore stiled *a mighty Prince*, c. 23. 6. though his Principality extended not beyond the limits of his own Family, as being therein Absolute and Uncontroulable. We do not read any where that *Adam* in his many hundred years Monarchy ever askt his Subjects Consent; His Dominion was as absolute over his Own as over the other Creatures, his Will a Law, and all his Dictates, Oracles. Such a successive unlimited Monarchy as God did at first Constitute; so was He pleased still to continue in the Firstborn. *Cain* had it upon this account and that by Gods own appointment, *Gen.* 4. 7. From whence it succeeded in *Jacob*'s Family, Gen. 49. 3. *Reuben thou art my firstborn* ——— *The Excellency of Dignity and the Excellency of Power* (of Honour and Authority) that is, The Supremacy of both. This lasted all along in the Patriarchs line; He that begat, commanded; He that gave life might take it away; All power then remained in the Fathers hand, as all Law did in his breast. *Jus vitæ & necis*, derived from Nature, belonged to him by the right of nature; and to have resisted a Fathers command then, had been a crime of the deepest dye. And

Gen. 9. 25.

23. 6.

Gen. 4. 7.

49. 3.

when

when the Roman *Manlius* slew his Victorious Son with his own hand, he acted by the Authority of a Father as well as of a Magistrate. Which paternal power continued among the Romans till *Justinian* took it away, so that before his time 'twas still in force, though Christianity forbad the use of it. A second thing consequent to the former, was high honour and Reverence, which natural reason as well as God's Law taught men to pay unto Parents; *Honour thy Father*, being a Law written in the heart of man as well as engraven in stone, and which we therefore find given by Heathens to their natural Parents in as high a degree as ever it was by Jews or Christians.

Now these two things, Supremacy and Honour, invested in natural Parents and owned as their due, were by the free and voluntary act of the People afterward transferred on the Political, when many Families became united into one Kingdom, and the very Title past along with the Power. Hence are Princes stiled *Patres Patriæ*, and, as such, retained the same Prerogative, and the same at least if not a greater Reverence. For they were absolute, their Empire knew no bounds in the early ages of the World, known by the name of Παμβασιλεία, wherein, *Arbitria Principum pro legibus erant*; Their rule wholly Despotical, yet κατὰ νόμον, just and legal, though absolute and unaccountable. Such a Government the Eastern People liv'd long under and enjoy'd a great measure of happiness by it; and therefore to speak in *Tacitus* language, *Addicte admodum regnabantur*, they were most devoutly obedient, no more questioning their Princes wisdom than their Gods. Heathens knew no such thing as a *Prior primo*, their Reason could not conceive how any one could be supreme and yet have another above him, nor find a Circle in Government less absurd than one in Logick, as that which in their judgment would infallibly beget an in-

Justin. lib. 1. c. 1. Aristot. lib. 3. pol. cap. 10.

Martial. lib. 2. Epig. 17.

finite progress. This was the Poets notion of a King, *Qui Rex est, Regem, Maxime, non habeat.* Otherwise he should be a King and no King. And therefore 'tis very observable, that in all forms of Government there was still Supremacy, a *potestas Regia*, absolute and above Laws, even in the Roman Common-wealth after the expulsion of their Kings, inherent in the Person of the Supream Magistrate *pro tempore*, such as were the Dictator and the Tribunes of the People, without which it had been impossible for them to preserve peace and order among men. This rendred them Ἀσύλους, safe and unquestionable. 'Tis true indeed that there were different sorts of Kings among Heathens according to the different Qualifications of Regal power in several Kingdoms. Some, though restrained by Laws, were yet truly Monarchs, not responsible, as supream, though not absolute. Others had the Name and Title of Kings, being in effect but more specious and glorious Subjects, as was *Theseus* to the People, and the *Spartan* Kings to the *Ephori*. *Cornelius Nepos* stiles these latter, *Nomine magis quam Imperio Reges*, Titular Kings, who, exceeding the bounds of their Commission, were some of them sentenced and Executed too by the *Lacedemonians*. But the Question here is of Kings not restrained and fetter'd by conditional compacts and agreements, but such, as for the most part, were left free and unbound. To cite them to any Tribunal, was a thing no Heathen Subjects ever did, or indeed thought fit to do. * *Herodotus* tells us, that *Cambyses* consulting his Senate, whether he might lawfully Marry his Sister, was answered, That they found no such Law as gave a Brother power to take his Sister to Wife: But that indeed they met with one which gave their Emperour free liberty to do what he pleased. When *Herod* was cited to appear before *M. Anthony* to answer for the murder of *Aristobulus*, *Anthony* said openly,

Cornel. Nepos in Agesilao.

* Lib. 3. οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀντώνιος, Βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατ' τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν; οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ Βασιλεὺς εἴη Joseph. Jud. Antiq. lib. 15. c. 4.

openly, That 'twas not fit a King should be questioned for what he did as King. I remember that *Tully* being to defend King *Deiotarus* before *Cæsar*, begins his Oration from the strangeness and novelty of the thing, telling him, that 'twas so unusual a thing for a King to be accused, that before that time 'twas never heard of. So sacred were the Persons, so unquestionable the Authority of Soveraign Princes over their subjects, that whereas 'twas held Parricide to affront natural Parents, to abuse These was in Heathens account no less than sacriledge. No defects in Government could render them obnoxious to Justice, nor any crimes, though never so enormous, dethrone them. They were *Tuti Imperii Majestate*, Their Majesty was their Protection, and their Character, their sanctuary; They were above the reach of those Laws which Themselves made; (Above the Censure and Penalties of them, not their Guidance and Direction;) and since they could dispence with others for the breach of them, then much more surely with Themselves who were the Authors of them. *Nemo unquam Principi leges scripsit*; And, *A Te exigetur Ratio, nos excusabit Obsequium*, sayes *Pliny*. No Law could punish nor any call Kings to account but the Gods, who as they gave them the highest Empire here, so did they leave their subjects nothing but the glory of obeying them. This was *Pliny*'s and *Tacitus* his Divinity, and much sounder no doubt than what some Christians have of late taught us, who will needs *Principes in ordinem redigere* as *Buchanan* phrases it (like a Pedant, as he was) Reduce Princes to good order, by placing Tutors and Guardians over them to correct them for those imaginary faults which their own fancy mostly creates and then heightens into Crimes.

Ita est insitatum Regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Cic. Orat. pro Deiotaro.

Plin. Panegyr.

Tibi summum rerum judicium Dii cedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est, M. Terent. apud Tacit. Annal. lib. 6.

De jure Regni apud Scotos. Edit. Edinburgi 8. 1582. p. 6.

By what has been ſaid it appears, That as Kingly Government was firſt founded in *jure paterno*; ſo that Kings themſelves were as abſolute and uncontroulable in their Dominions as Fathers were in their Families for ſome thouſands of years; A thing ever acknowledged by Heathens, and never diſputed them but by Chriſtians. *Impune quidvis facere, Id eſt Regem eſſe*, was *Saluſt*'s definition of a Soveraign Prince, and all Heathens admitted it; who were ſo far from thinking it fit to puniſh him in his perſon, that 'twas Treaſonable with them to attempt it in Effigie. I need not tell you how much the Roman Laws provide for the ſecurity of their Emperours, and to this purpoſe I might cite many of them. But I forbear, and ſhall only add a little touching that reverence and honour Heathens gave their Kings; for the moſt part indeed too much, being ſuperſtitious in this point even to exceſs. For I find it held unlawful, by the Eaſtern People eſpecially, for private men to gaze too much on their Prince, and unſafe to venture into his preſence unſent for. And therefore we ſee *Eſther* durſt not appear before *Ahaſuerus* till he held out his Golden Scepter to her. What eſteem Heathen ſubjects had for their King, we learn from *Artabanus* a *Perſian* ſpeaking thus for himſelf and the reſt of his Country men; Ἡμῖν μὲν πολλῶν νόμων καλῶν ὄντων, κάλλιστον ἔπος ἐστὶ, τὸ τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ σεβεσθαι, εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν πάντα σῴζοντα. We own it as the chiefeſt of thoſe many good Laws among us to honour and adore our Prince as the lively pourtraicture of the great Preſerver of all things. An Expreſſion not much differing from that of St. *Peter*, *Fear God, Honour the King*. I might here preſent you with thoſe lofty Titles of Eternity and Divinity ſo frequently by the Romans beſtowed upon their Emperours and the like, more proper for Gods than Men; I might tell you how to abuſe their

Bell. Jugurth.

Eſther 5. 2.

Apud Xenophont.

1 Pet. 2. 17.

their very ſtatues was Sacriledge; How they ſware by the lives of their Princes (as *Joſeph* did by *Pharaoh's*, *Gen.* 42. 16.) *per Genium Imperatoris*, in *Tertullian*. Such Reverence did Heathens pay unto them as to ſo many Earthly Gods, from whom they ſaw they derived the ineſtimable benefits of Peace, plenty and Protection; The main ground of all the Heatheniſh Idolatry. Gen. 42. 16. *Apologet.* c. 32.

No marvel then if *Pilate* (who being a Judge 'tis preſumed could not be ignorant of theſe things as having been bred and trained up under the Roman diſcipline, and ſo well acquainted with its Laws and Cuſtomes) comparing the affronts and indignities theſe Jews were now offering to one whom he ſuppoſed their King, with that high reſpect and honour he knew all other Nations, and eſpecially the Roman, expreſt towards theirs, is here ſo much ſcandalized at the manner of their Proceedings. 'Twas a new thing to him to ſee a King brought before him by his own ſubjects to receive his ſentence. *Take ye him and judge him according to your Law*, ſays he, not Ours; We have no ſuch Law whereby to judge, much leſs to put a Prince to death. This he charges them home with, and they to prevent the ſuſpicion of ſo foul a crime, deny Chriſt to be their King, but by owning *Ceſar* to be ſo, profeſs as much Loyalty and Obedience to him as *Pilate* himſelf could pretend to, which brings in the ſecond point of the firſt part of the Text, namely the Judgement of the Jews as to the ſacredneſs of Kings perſons and their Exemption from Force or Judicial Tryal. Joh. 18. 31.

2. That Kings derived their Authority from God and not from the People; and therefore could be reſponſible to none but God for what they did, is a Truth clearly delivered by the Prophets; *He removeth and ſetteth up Kings*, ſays *Daniel*, c. 2. 21. *He placeth them on their Thrones*, ſays *Job*, c. 36. 7. *By Him they reign* Dan. 2. 21. Job 36. 7.

2. Of the judgement of Jews.

and

Prov. 8. 15. *and by Him they decree Juſtice*, Prov. 8. 15. Their Di-
Pſal. 89. 20. adem, their Anointing their Scepter, their Throne, all
2 Chron. 9. 8. are ſaid to be from God. As their *Hearts are in his*
Prov. 21. 1. *hand*; ſo the ſame hand ſets their Crowns faſt upon their
Pſal. 21. 3. 82. 6. Heads. *Dixi, Dii eſtis*, is Gods language to Them, not the Peoples, For then the *Dixi* ſhould have been changed into a *Diximus*; nor ſhould the ſtyle be, By me Kings reign, but by Us, according to the modern Divinity. Conſider we a little how the firſt Jewiſh Kings were elected, and we ſhall find that the People had little or nothing to do in their choice. They in-
Act. 13. 21. deed *deſired a King* but *God gave him* as He had long before deſigned him. Nor do we find that the Jewiſh Kings ever ſtood much upon their Confirmation by the People, but as thoſe that knew their way to the Throne aſcended its ſteps without the Peoples aid. 'Tis true
1 Sam. 11. 15. indeed, The *People* are ſaid to have *made Saul a King in Gilgal*; But their making him there, was no more than their approving him. They did only add to the Pomp and Ceremony, not to the eſſence of the Conſtitution. For *Saul* was both nam'd and confirm'd King and had executed his Office before this ſolemnity, as
1 Sam. cap. 10, 11. appears from 1 *Sam.* chapters 10. & 11. The People could pretend no intereſt here, God having left them nothing to do but to admit and accept him. The ſame is as true of *David* too; God *choſe* him *and took him away*
Pſa. 78. 71, 72. *from the Sheep-folds, that he might feed Jacob his people and Iſrael his Inheritance*; Nay God himſelf owns
89. 20. the Inſtitution, Pſal. 89. 20. *I have exalted one choſen out of the People*; The Exaltation was Gods, and the choice not Of but Out of the People. And as He did exalt; ſo did He anoint him with his own holy Oyle, an Emblem of his Soveraignty. A character not only proper to Him, but to all his Succeſſors, (Royal Birth be-
1 Sam. 10. 27. ing equal to Royal Unction) to whom in token of ſubjection, the People paid homage and gave gifts, admitted

mitted their Images on their Coynes, and began their *Æra* from their Reign; All marks of that soveraign Authority Kings had over them, and which was never disputed. For whatever the rebellious practices of some were (As there will be Rebels while there be Kings, and never greater store of such than among the Jews, whom the Prophets frequently style *A Rebellious Nation*) yet the opinion of the best and sobereſt part of them was ever Orthodox as to matter of subjection to their Natural Princes, whatever they thought of Forraign ones, whom they lookt upon as Usurpers.

This then being granted (as needs it must) That their Kings were supream, as holding their Scepters only from God; It will necessarily follow that they were accountable to none but Him. And this is further demonſtrable from the *Jus Regni* mentioned 1 *Sam.* 8. where all the Acts of a Tyrannical King are at large described, but such as the People could not choose but submit to. 'Twas not a Law given for a Prince to Command, but for the People to obey by. It did by no means excuse him from sinning, but it did sufficiently disable them from punishing him. And therefore 'tis said, when the solemnity of this Inauguration was over, That *Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the People that asked of him a King.* He spake not to the King, but addreſt himself to the People and declared their Duty (For his duty was well known, it having been taught him by *Moses* many Ages before, *Deut.* 17.) And the close of all is this, since there is no help in man, they must only cry unto the Lord, 1 *Sam.* 8. 18. From whence it appears, that although what a King should do were never so wicked, yet that he might do it with safety and impunity. Which is the expreſs doctrine of the Old Testament. Job 34. 18. *Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked? Or to Princes, Ye are Ungodly?* 'Twas not so it seems in *Job*'s dayes, nor

1 Sam. 8.

v. 10.

Deut. 17.

1 Sam. 8. 18.

Job 34. 18.

in

Eccles. 8. 2, 3. in *Solomon's* neither; *I counsel thee to keep the Kings Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God;* v. 4. *For he doth whatsoever pleaseth him:* and v. 4. *Where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, What dost thou?* No man without danger to his Prov. 20. 2. life and soul too, *whoso provoketh him to anger, sinneth against his own soul.* He pulls down the Kings, and Gods anger upon his head. Kings indeed have long hands, but the Almighty's are much longer and heavier, who will be sure to punish the breach of that Oath the subject makes to his Prince, and those affronts that are put upon his Vicegerent; He, who sayes expressly to 1 Sam. 8. 7. *Samuel, They have not rejected Thee but Me,* will interpret such injuries as done unto himself. How dangerous a thing it was for the Jews to disobey an infe- Deut. 17. 12. riour Authority, we learn from Deut. 17. 12. *The man that will do presumptuously and will not hearken to the Priest, that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the Judge, even that man shall dye;* where we see that to disobey the sentence given by the Judge and interpreted by the Priest, was present death by the Law of *Moses:* much more, to resist the commands of the Soveraign Prince, and that by the Testimony and consent of the People themselves, Jos. 1. 18. Joshuah 1. 18. *Whosoever he be that doth Rebel against thy Commandment and will not hearken to thy words in all that thou commandest him, shall be put to death.* Here is no exception of Persons, the Law being general and comprehensive. I might enforce this argument by all those Titles wherewith Kings are dignified in 2 Sam. 21. 17. the Old Testament, Of the *lights of Israel,* The *breath* Lament. 4. 20. of *their Nostrils,* The *Angels of God,* and The *Heads of* 2 Sam. 14. 19. 1 Sam. 15. 20. *the People;* All which speak them supream and inviolable. I might also tell you what care God took, to secure them from any violent attempts by restraining mens hearts as well as tongues, by forbidding them

them not only publickly to revile, but so much as to *curse* them in *thought*, lest a *bird of the ayre* (An Angel of God) might *tell the matter*; much less might the hand be lifted up against them, *For who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed and be guiltless?* says *David*, 1 *Sam.* 26. 9. If any might have done it, then He to be sure, as next heir to the Crown, declared so by God himself, and already Anointed to it, and who might now have made way for himself to it by dispatching *Saul* who was then in his hand; and Necessity and Providence (our late great Pleas and Pretences) might seem to have led him to it: But so far was *David* from doing him any hurt himself, that he would not suffer those whose fingers itcht to be doing, and who came with a *dixit Dominus* in their mouths, to injure him in the least; would not give way to his own Passion or his Souldiers solicitation. The only use he makes of it is the tryal of his Patience and the means of his Peace. *David* might as easily have cut off *Saul*'s head as his garment; but his Coat only shall be the worse for it, not his Person. Like *Aaron's precious Ointment* he descends only to *the skirts of his Cloathing*; nor should his garment have been maim'd for a revenge, but only for a monument of his Innocency. And yet as not well secured of that, the least rent of that garment tears his heart worse, 2 *Sam.* 25. 5. Now what was it that so becalm'd and smooth'd his own and his Followers Passion but the Holy Oyle that was on *Saul*'s head? *Timuit Oleum*, sayes *Optatus*; *Saul* was the Lords Anointed, That was charm enough to tye up *David*'s hand.

Exod. 22. 28. Eccles. 10. 20. 1 Sam. 26. 9. 2 Sam. 25. 5.

Nor do we find that the Jewish Nation did ever pretend to bring any of their most extravagant Kings into order either by way of force or Justice, but left them to stand or fall to their own Master, whenever they did such things as were punishable by the Law

Exod. 22. 20. of *Moses*. By which Law though every Idolater was to dye without mercy, yet where do we find that *Manasses* (An Idolater and a cruel Tyrant to boot) was ever punisht for it by the People? Or where do we learn that *Elias* (A man of a fiery spirit, and zealous for his God) did call down fire from Heaven to consume a wicked *Ahab* as he did his Captains of fifties and their Bands? When *David* had committed Adultery (which was mortal too by the Law of *Moses*, *Levit.* 20. 10.) *Nathan* brings no Authority from the People to punish, he only threatens him from God, cites him to his Tribunal, and *David* himself well knew he was to stand at no other barr, his *Tibi soli peccavi*, secures him from man's; and St. *Ambrose*'s Comment on these words puts it out of Question, *Rex erat*, He was a King, and that was his Protection.

Levit. 20. 10.

Psal. 51. 4.

Rex utiq; erat, nullis Ipse legibus tenebatur, quia liberi sunt Reges à vinculis delictorum. St. Ambr. Apolog. David. c. 10.

But though the People had no Authority over their Prince, had not the High Priest? Jesuites indeed say so, but without any ground at all. For they cannot shew us any one single act of Jurisdiction exercised by the High Priest over the King, whereas we can of the Kings over him; of a *Solomon* on an *Abiathar*. That which they urge here of *Azariah*'s thrusting out *Uzziah* out of the Temple, is nothing to the purpose. That was no act of violence against him for burning Incense to the Lord, and so seizing on the Priests Office, as is pretended, much less any depriving him of his Regal Authority (which he enjoyed while he lived.) But, as *Josephus* informs us, an Advice or Admonition to him to depart hastily out of the Temple, God having smitten him with Leprosie, and all Lepers being to dwell without the Camp, according to the Levitical Law, *Levit.* 13. 46. Nor is that other instance of *Jehoiada*'s slaying *Athalia*, any whit more pertinent. For *Jehoiada*, (who had for some years secured

1 King. 2. 26, 27.

2 Chron. 26.

Jud. Antiq. lib. 9. c. 11. See 2 Chron. 26. 20.

Levit. 13. 46.

2 King. 11.

cured *Joas* in the Temple from the fury of that Usurpress) being Unkle and Protector to *Joas* in his minority, did, with the consent of the chief of the Realm, only declare him King, who was so before, as by Right of succession, so by Gods own special appointment, 2 *Chron.* 23. 3. Nor did he cause *Athalia* to be slain, till *Joas* had been seated on his Royal Throne, *v.* 11. so that 'twas not so much His as *Joas*'s Act, in whose name and by whose Authority He caused it to be done. Here then was no act of the High Priests Jurisdiction over the King; nor can it be made appear that ever the *Sanhedrim* (The Highest Court of Judicature among the Jews, and who had Authority to punish False Prophets with death) did ever pretend a power of punishing Princes so. After the Babylonish Captivity indeed nothing was done without their Authority. Then we read that *Herod* was cited to appear before them to answer for some misdemeanours he had committed, He being but a private Person, his Father *Antipater* alive, and *Hyrcanus* then reigning. So false is it what *Baronius* confidently affirms, That all Kings were obnoxious to the Judgement of the *Sanhedrim*, as *Casaubon* shews. Only this must be confest, That Kingly power, toward the end of the Jewish Monarchy, was much restrained by the Senare; so that what *Aristotle* sayes of the Kingdom of *Lacedemonia*, is applicable to that of *Judæa* in those times, ἐκ ἴσου Βασιλεία κυρία πάντων, That Kings could not do all then as once they could when their Power was Absolute; and when by the judgement of the best Jewish Doctors, it was utterly unlawful to call them to an Account; witness that saying of theirs, cited out of their *Talmud*, *Rex nec judicat nec judicatur*; which as it was false as to the former part of it (as 'tis evident from 1 *Sam.* 8. 5. where the People desire a King that might judge them like *all the Nations*, and what kind of Kings those were

2 Chron. 23. 3.
v. 11.
Deut. 13. 5.
Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 14. *c.* 17.
To. 1. *Annal. ad An. Christi* 31. *num.* 10. *Exercitat. lib.* 13. *c.* 5.
Ar. Pol. lib. 3. *c.* 10.
1 *Sam.* 8. 5.

I have already ſhewn you) ſo was it moſt true as to the latter branch of it, That He was not to be judged of any. A piece of Divinity ſo generally owned and approved by the Jews, that it became a Proverbial ſaying with them, *Nulla creatura judicat Regem, ſed Deus Benedictus.*

That this was the doctrine of *Moſes* and the Prophets, made good by the example of Holy men, and avowed by the ableſt and ſoundeſt Jewiſh Doctors, Theſe Chief Prieſts here could not be ignorant of, as men who had been trained up in the Schools of the Prophets and in all likelyhood well verſt in their own Hiſtories and Practices. And therefore to avoid the force of *Pilates* argument, they own his Reaſon but deny his ſuppoſition, That Chriſt was their King, *We have no King but Cæſar.* My ſecond general Part.

The ſecond Part.

'Twas impoſſible in ſo few words to expreſs more flattery, ſhall I ſay, Blaſphemy or Folly. Here is hypocriſie in the height, in owning *Cæſar* for their King. He was ſo indeed, but ſore againſt their wills; one whom Conqueſt had forced upon them, and whom they mortally hated as an Uſurper, an Enemy to their Religion and Cuſtomes. Nor was it poſſible for them to love him, while they held it no better than a ſinful Vaſſalage to ſtoop to a Heathen Scepter; A fancy *Judas Gauloniten* and *Saducus* had put into their heads. Thus they bow their knee to *Cæſar* as they did to Chriſt, with a *Hail King of the Jews*, proclaiming him with their mouths but not with their hearts, *Aut Cæſar aut nullus*, *Cæſar* muſt be their King.

See Deut. 17. 15.

And

And why not Christ? was it not because there was no King in *Zion*? did not these men look for a *Messiah*? And was not this the proper time to expect him, when according to *Jacobs* Prophecy, the Scepter was departed from *Juda*? Had not malice and envy blinded their eyes, they might easily have known him by all those marks their Prophets gave them of the Messiah, and which were so visible on him. Nor was it long before that themselves would have made him their King, that they followed him in Triumph into *Jerusalem* with *Hosanna*'s to this Son of *David* as loud as now their Crucifiges; and is the note so soon chang'd? How much better *Pilate*, a Heathen, than they who both owned him here for their King, and a little after proclaimed him such by a publick Inscription on his Cross? Yet *Nolumus hunc*, is their language, and by rejecting Christ what did they but renounce all hope of a deliverer? This was their extream Folly and they soon smarted for it, when Christ's light yoke was turned into an iron one that galled their necks to purpose; when the seditious practices of the furious Zealots lured the Roman Eagles to their Carkasses, according to the literal meaning of our Lords prediction, *Matth.* 24. 28. Thus for their refusing Christ and choosing *Cæsar* for their Lord, 'twas just with God to plague them by that *Cæsar*; That they who rejected the mild Empire of a Lamb, should have a devouring Stork set over them, and the *Venient Romani*, once their Fear, should at last prove their judgement.

Gen. 49. 10.

Joh. 6. 15.

Matth. 24. 28.

Joh. 11. 48.

But besides this, there is a great absurdity in their answer here to *Pilate*, an opposition implyed between Christ and *Cæsar*. They say Christ is not their King because *Cæsar* is. The Anabaptist and the Jew are here so cross, that 'tis strange one *Amsterdam* should hold them both. The one sayes, Christ is our King, and

and therefore not *Cæsar*; The other, *Cæsar* is our King, and therefore not Christ; as if these two, Christ and *Cæsar* were incompatible. 'Twas this mistake that rais'd all the Plots against our Saviour; This, that awakened *Herod*'s jealousie, and provok't his rage, when he heard of a *King of the Jews*. But his fears were as needless, as they were pernicious; since He, who gave all Earthly Monarchs their Crowns, did not come with any design to pluck them off their heads. The not well understanding a due subordination between Christs and *Cæsar*'s Kingdom, is that which has spilt so much blood in the World. There may be danger in contrariety, but in diversity there is none. 'Twas a blasphemous inconsequence then in these Chief Priests, *Cæsar* is our King, therefore not Christ; whereas they should rather have argued thus, Yea, rather *Cæsar*, because Christ, it being not necessary that Religion and Policy should clash, nor at all impossible to *Render unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's, and yet not deny *God the things that are God's*.

We have had, and still have such loud cryes as these among us too; Of some, who will have no King but Him that wears the Triple Crown, all the rest must hold theirs precariously from Him. Of others, who are for a King *Jesus*, owning Him indeed for their King, but in as bad a sense as these here disclaim'd him. The difference between these two is not very great. The One would have blown up their King, and the Other did actually cut off his head. Their Impiety was much alike, but not their Modesty: The former being content to contrive his destruction in a Cave, while the other had the impudence to murder him on a Scaffold. A third sort of People we have seen too; who were for a Monarch with these *Jews*, but one of their own setting up: For any thing rather than the True One;

One; For a Traytor and a Murderer; a *Barabbas* instead of a *Chriſtus Domini*, a Bramble for a Cedar. The Chief Prieſts of thoſe times were mainly for ſuch a one (If they were Prieſts at all, for 'tis queſtionable whether many of them were; nay, 'tis certain that ſome of them were not, and that All of them were at beſt but *Jeroboam*'s Prieſts, *of the meaneſt of the People*). We know whom theſe men would once have had for their King, *Jeroboam* was to be the Man, One for all Religions but the right one; As good a Prieſt himſelf as they that would have ſet him up, who carryed a Sword in one hand, and a Cenſer in the other; One that ſet up his *Calves* in oppoſition to the God of *Iſrael*, when he ſaw he was not for his turn; A *Phocas* who by the murder of his Lord aſpir'd to the Diadem, and he miſt it narrowly, the Power he had already got into his hands, but God would not ſuffer him to enjoy the Title, and not long after ſtript him and his ridiculous Succeſſor of all their Theatrical Pomp, making them give way to the True *Cæſar*. And bleſſed be God that we can truly ſay what theſe *Jews* here ſpake falſly, *We have* Cæſar *for our King*. Let us then give him thoſe things that belong unto Him, that which our Religion commands us to pay Him. And what that is, is to be our third and laſt Enquiry.

The Third Part.

The Doctrine and Practice of Chriſt, his Apoſtles and Primitive Fathers.

That all Magiſtracy is from God, we learn from Rom. 13. 1. *The Powers that be, are ordained of God*; and that all degrees and orders of men are from Him, is as evident. For God never deſign'd ſuch a Parity as ſome men dream of. A thing, as contrary to Nature, ſo to all Reaſon and Religion. What is commonly ſaid,

ſaid, That all men are born Equal, that Innocence knew no Superiour but God, and that ſubjection came in with ſin; is ſpeciouſly, but very falſly alledg'd. That Slavery came in with ſin, I grant, not Civil ſubjection. As there was at firſt a plain diſtinction and inequality between Father and Son; ſo the different gifts of men imply it; ſome being born with ſuch Heroick Spirits, as if deſign'd by God to govern others, whoſe ſtronger abilities of body than of mind, ſeem to have fitted them only for ſubjection. This the Philoſopher ſeems to make the ground of all Civil Government, *Polit.* 1. And indeed without ſuch an Inequality there could be None. For every man ſtanding in a Ring or Circle, where the roundneſs takes away all diſtinction, none can be before or after another; Every ſingle perſon ſhall then be a Monarch and a Subject, as 'twas in that *Cyclopedian* Anarchy deſcrib'd by *Euripides*, which the Levelling Doctrine does inevitably introduce, as againſt all reaſon, ſo againſt the very intereſt of the Deſigners themſelves. Againſt Reaſon, as a thing utterly impracticable; To reduce all men to the ſame pitch of Government being as unreaſonable a Tyranny as was that of *Procruſtes*, who would fit all Bodies to one bed. Againſt the intereſt of the Deſigners too, who would have all equal indeed beſides themſelves; and I may add, Againſt Religion; For Chriſt allows no ſuch thing, and thoſe *Higher Powers* mention'd by St. *Paul* clearly imply a diſtinction. And who thoſe *Higher Powers* were, the αἱ ὔσαι ἐξουσίαι, in the ſame Verſe declare, The Powers then in being, which can be underſtood of none but the *Roman* Emperours. Theſe were then the *Higheſt Powers* on Earth; To theſe St. *Peter* commands ſubjection as to the *Supream*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. Theſe, as our Lord tells us, did κατακυριευειν and κατεξουσιαζειν, that is, as the words import, exerciſe ſuch an abſolute and ſupream authority over men, as Maſters have over their Servants,

1 Pet. 2. 13.
Matth. 20. 25.
2 Cor. 1. 24.

Servants, and Lords over their Vaſſals. And ſo far was Chriſt from diſputing them this their juſt Authority, that He not only paid them Tribute in token of his own ſubjection (though not without the expence of a Miracle) but expreſly commands all his to do ſo; *Render unto Cæſar*, the word there is Ἀπόδοτε, Reſtore to Him his due, as if it were not ſo much a Gift as a Debt. Thus did our Lord, and thus did his Apoſtles teach us; Nor do we find that any of the Primitive Fathers taught otherwiſe than to own Kings as ſupream, and depending only upon God. 'Tis a known ſaying that of *Tertullian*, *Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo ſecundum & ſolo Deo minorem*; and that of *Optatus* to the like purpoſe; *Supra Imperatorem non eſt niſi Deus qui fecit Imperatorem.* I ſhould be infinite, if I ſhould cite Fathers to this purpoſe, and I think it needleſs, it being impoſſible for any to produce one ſingle paſſage out of the Antient Fathers to the contrary.

Matth. 17. 27. 22. 21. Ad Scapulam. Adverſus Parmen. lib. 3.

That which ſome object out of 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. That Kings are but ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, *an Ordinance of Man*; ſignifies no more than this, That Kingly Government, as all other, is exerciſed by men, and deſign'd for the good of humane ſociety; not that it is not of a Divine Inſtitution: For the very word κτίσις there recalls us to God as to its Author, and in the very ſame Verſe we find it rais'd to a divine workmanſhip, *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake.* Who as he is called *the Ordinance of man* by St. *Peter*; ſo is he expreſly ſtyl'd *the Ordinance of God*, by St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 2.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

But then ſecondly, May not the Prieſt now under the Goſpel claim a Superiority over Princes? St. *Peter* ſayes nothing to countenance that claim, (he ſtrongly implyes the contrary in the word ὑπερέχων) but his pretended Succeſſor will by all means have it ſo, *He who exalteth himſelf above all that is called God*, to

1 Pet. 2. 13. 2 Theſſ. 2. 4.

whose Mitre all Crowns must vail, and that by virtue of a *Dabo tibi Claves*, which Keys he can easily turn into a Sword as oft as he finds occasion to imploy in against Soveraign Princes, and then any pretence shall warrant the use of it. *Moses*, sayes *Aquinas*, styles the *Jews* a *Priestly Kingdom*, Exod. 19. 6. And St. *Peter* us Christians a *Kingly Priesthood*, 1 Pet. 2. 9. and from thence he strongly concludes, that as Judaism did stand through the Kings superiority over Priests: (which is more by the bye than what *Bellarmine* and his Associates will grant him) so Christianity through the Priests superiority over Kings. An argument much like that once made use of to prove the Pope to be above the Emperour, because 'tis said, That God made a *Greater light to rule the day, and a lesser to rule the night*. But to this I shall oppose St. *Paul's* practice and precept. His practice we have clear, *Acts* 25, 11. where he appeals to *Cæsar* as to the highest Judge on Earth, where he sayes he *ought to be judged*; and that, as 'tis very observable, in a matter of spiritual concern, as it will plainly appear, by comparing *v.* 19. here with the sixth Verse of *Chap.* 23. where he tells us that *Of the hope and Resurrection of the dead he was called in question*. This was his practice; and he did no more than what he commands all men to do, to be *subject to the Higher Power*, that is, to that very *Roman* Emperour to whom he appeals, and his Πᾶσα ψυχὴ, *Every Soul* includes all, whether Apostle, Evangelist or Prophet, in the Judgement of far better and more Authentick Interpreters than any of the *Romanists*, (*a*) St. *Chrysostom*, (*b*) *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius* and even St. *Bernard* too. To which I shall add the practice of *Gregory the Great*, himself a Pope, but much more mannerly than his successors,

Comment. in 1 Pet. 2. 9.
Exod. 19. 6.
1 Pet. 2. 9.
Gen. 1. 16.
Acts 25. 10, 11.
V. 19.
Chap. 23. 6.
(a) Hom. 23. in Rom.
(b) In locum. Si omnis Anima, etiam vestra. Quis vos excepit ab universitate? Qui tentat excipere, conatur decipere.

(Bernard. ad Henr. Senones f. 1. Ep. 42. Greg. M. lib. 2. Epist. 72. Et ad Theodoric. Reg. Francorum lib. 9. Epist. 53,

whose

whose humble Addresses to *Mauritius* the Emperour, whom he styles his Lord, as also to *Theodoric* King of the *Franks* whom he beseeches to call a Synod, plainly shew, how little he then dreamt of standing in competition with his Prince. A submission his Successours can no more relish now than his disclaiming the Universal Monarchy. And we know what a quarrel there was like to have been in this latter age between *Paul* 5. and the Republick of *Venice*, partly upon this account, that They would not suffer some * Religious Persons to have leave to violate all the Laws of God and of that State.

* *Non possunt Clerici à Judice sæculari judicari, etiamsi leges civiles non servent.* Bell. de Clericis, lib. 1. c. 38. *Rebellio Clerici adversus Principem, non est crimen læsæ Majestatis, quia Principi non est subditus.* Em. Sa Aphor. Tit. Clericus.

And here 'tis strange to see how lovingly Jesuites and Sectaries agree together to dethrone and murder the *Lords Anointed:* How like *Sampson*'s Foxes they carry fire in their tayles while their heads seem to point divers wayes. *Nemo tam prope tam procul;*—— Their Principles and practices much alike. That the Prince was made for the People; (*a*) That the People can never so far transferr their power over to a King but that they retain the habit of it still within themselves, and may in some cases actually reassume it; (*b*) That when Kings transgress Laws they become obnoxious to the Penalties of them, and may be (*c*) deposed

(a) *In Rebuspublicis Temporalibus si Rex degeneret in Tyrannum, licet caput sit regni, tamen à populo potest deponi & eligi alius.* Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. c. 19. & Recogn. lib. de laicis sect. *Addo experientiam; Laudat Navarrum qui non dubitat affirmare, Nunquam Populum ita potestatem suam in Regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, ut in certis quibusdam casibus etiam actu recipere possit.*

(b) *Potestas immediate est tanquam in subjecto in totâ multitudine, & si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in Aristocratiam, aut Democratiam, & è contra, ut Romæ factum legimus.* Bell. de Laicis lib. 3. c. 6.

(c) *Verum principem, qui Tyrannus est ratione administrationis, non posse à privatis interimi quamdiu manet Princeps —— primùm à Republ. vel Comitiis Regni, vel alio habente authoritatem, esse deponendum, ut in ipsius Personam liceat quicquam attentare.* Lessius lib. 2. de Justit. & Jure c. 9. dubio 4.

and killed by the People; That we are to distinguish between their Persons and their Authority, and may with a safe Conscience oppose the former, though not the latter; And, to summ up all in one, That (*d*) Dominion is founded in Grace, Bad Kings have no right to their Crowns, nor bad men to any of Gods Creatures. All these doctrines are delivered by the Jesuites either expressly or at least implicitely; and since they first give the premises, whereof such rebellious conclusions are the clear and natural issues, 'tis easie to see to whom our late Pamphleteers are beholding for their Destructive Principles, and that they have whet those Swords, wherewith they have cut off the head of their Prince, at the forges of these Philistines.

(*d*) *Dominatio Temporalis & superioritas in subditos per sententiam Papæ potest omnino adimi Hæreticis.* Greg. de Valent. To. 3. disp. in Thomam. Dis. 1. qu. 12, p. 2.

But we *have not so learned Christ.* He never taught us to distinguish between the Person and Authority of a Prince, no more than St. *Paul* did when he bad us be *subject to the Higher Powers.* A nicety coyned by Rebellious heads, but which never came into that of this Holy Apostle, who only conformed himself to the Roman style, with whom 'twas ordinary to call Persons *Potestates* in the Abstract. And therefore *v.* 3. The same Persons are stiled *Rulers* Ἄρχοντες, as *v.* 6. Λειτουργοὶ *Ministers* in the Masculine, who *v.* 1. were entituled ἐξουσίαι *Powers*; to let us know, That every affront to their Persons is sin because of their Authority.

An Fidenatum Gabiorumve esse Potestas. Juv. Sat. 10. v. Ephes. 3. 10.

But then secondly, That Dominion is founded in Grace, so that Subjects may be free to cast off the Royal yoke, in case a Prince will not, or they at least perswade themselves, He does not, submit his neck to Christs, is the very Root of all Rebellion; A maxime, which not only turns Kings out of their Thrones, but all Men out of their Possessions, who have not the mark of their Election visible on their foreheads. A Doctrine, which has shed more blood than now runs in the

the veins of living Christians, and is that which in effect did Murder our late Soveraign. That Religion, Grace or Vertue gives Princes a Right to Govern, is as false as it is pernicious. Their Right to Govern is annexed to their Soveraignty, nor are their Persons Sacred in relation to their Divine or moral endowments, but in regard of Empire. For *Cyrus* was *Christus Domini* as well as *Josias*, and *Saul* as well as *David*. Esa. 45. 1, 5.

If Religion made Kings, then should there of old have been no true Kings but those of *Juda*, nor any now but those of Christendom. St. *Augustine* speaking of *Saul*, says, He had not Innocence but he had Holiness, not of Life, but of Unction. This made *David* so revere him when alive, and so severely punish him, when dead, by causing the *Amalekite* to be slain for but falsly reporting himself his Executioner. The errours or misdemeanours of Kings can no more disanul their Authority, than *man's Unbelief can make void the faith of God*. 'Tis not every failing of the husband that can yield his Wife a just cause for a separation, she must Take him for better or for worse. The King is the *Head* of his Subjects, as the Husband is the *Head* of his *wife*; He solemnly weds himself to his people at his Coronation, and his Oath there makes the match; But what if he break his Oath, shall his Perjury to God make him lose his just Authority over men? or release his Subjects of their duty? This is the Sectarian and Jesuitical doctrine; *Buchanan* and *Emanuel Sa* both assure us, That in such a case 'tis lawful for any man to take away the Life of a Tyrant, that is, such a one as they fancy to be so. A piece of Divinity borrowed from *Tully* who had said the same thing many Ages before, but warranted by no Scripture or practice of any Primitive Christians. These all owned and submitted themselves to Tyrannical Princes. What was the Roman

Non habebat innocentiam & tamen habebat sanctitatem. August. contra Lit. Petil. l. 2. c. 48.

Rom. 3. 3.

1 Sam. 15. 17. 1 Cor. 11. 3.

Buchan. de jur. regni p. 53. in 8. Edenburg. 1581. Eman. Sa Aphor. Tit. Tyrannus.

man Emperour in St. *Paul*'s time but such, and does He in the least question his Authority? Does he not call Him *The Ordinance of God?* Does he not preach subjection to Him and that *not for fear but for Conscience?* Did his Tyranny or wickedness wash off that holy oyle wherewith *God had anointed him above his fellows?* And what his Infidelity and Cruelty to boot, could not do then, shall Heresie be able to do now? Could such faults dethrone Princes, not many of them perhaps would heretofore have sate fast on their Thrones. *Constantius, Valens, Valentinianus,* Arrians all, yet were never thought less Emperours for all that. *Julian* more, an Apostate, yet dyed a Prince. But, *Vires deerant*, Their Subjects then wanted power to call them to an account. *Tertullian* has furnisht me with an answer; That Christians then filled all places, Towns, Camp and even the Court it self. Besides, The *Theban* Legion, who chose rather to be Martyrs than Rebels, are a pregnant instance to the contrary. Men that durst look any thing in the face but Majesty, That could stand before any Enemy but not before their Soveraign except to wait his Commands. Here only their courage failed them; They could suffer their own blood to be shed, but knew not our late art of Phlebotomy, of letting out their Princes heart blood. That Arch-Rebel among us, who with his brother *Mariana* the Jesuite has written a Book in defence of Regicide, not knowing what to say to so plain an Instance, betakes himself to this pretty Fanatical shift: That that honest liberty of King-killing was hid from some Primitive Christians for some special ends, which God hath since revealed to this latter age; That such an extraordinary patience and passive courage were necessary in those dayes, which are inconvenient in ours, wherein more plentiful light has made us see it expedient rather

Apologet. c.37.

Joh. Goodwin. Anti-Caval.

to

to be Assassines than Martyrs. 'Tis now the wicked's turn to suffer, and Antichrist cannot be destroyed except those Kings be, which yet the Scripture expresly tells us are the very Persons that shall pull him down, *Rev.* 17.16. Revel. 17. 16. Thus are we, in a business of such high moment, to be guided by obscure fanatical conjectures rather than by those plain precepts of Loyalty and subjection the Scripture gives us, and *the man of Sin* cannot down without our sin too. This is the excellent and safe doctrine of Sectaries; This, their Christian liberty, to shake off that yoke to Princes which Christ has bound so fast to their necks, and is now become so great a part of his own. He who has commanded servants to obey even *froward* Masters, and Children harsh and unnatural Parents, has enjoyned subjects as strict an obedience to Tyrannical Princes. What Law is there for the servant to call his Master to an account, or the Child his Father? Or where have we any precept or example in Scripture for questioning Soveraign Princes? Will these Saints challenge to themselves a greater Authority than Christ ever took upon him? Where do we find that he exercised any Jurisdiction on the Powers then in being? He who refused to be made a *Judge* between private parties? Will these New Saints pretend to judge the World now, because Gods Saints shall *judge* it hereafter? Christ indeed tells his Apostles that *They* should be *brought before Kings and Governours*, but no where that *Kings and Governours* should be brought before Them to receive their doom; much less, before the People, or their Representatives either, since They can give These no greater a power than themselves had, nor such a power to be sure as they have once past away. That distinction of *Singulis Major & Universis Minor*, coyned in the Consistory and Classis, we find no where in Scripture. There we hear of a *King* as *Supream*, and of inferiour *Governours*

1 Pet. 2. 18.

Luk. 12. 14.

1 Cor. 6. 2.

Mat. 10. 18.

nours *sent* and impowred *by Him*, but nothing of their being above Him that sent them, put them all together. There we hear that the Highest Power is the
Rom. 13. 4. *Minister of God*, not of the People; and his *Minister to execute wrath* on others; not to be lyable to the terrible effects of anothers wrath. There we are told, that God has put the *Sword* into his, not any others hand, That all besides Him do *Take*, usurp it, and *shall* therefore
Matth. 26. 52. *Perish with it*, *Matth.* 26. 52. Much more they who employ it to His destruction, who has the only right to use it. We are commanded there to
1 Tim. 2. 2. *Pray for Kings*, not to murder them; To lift up our hands to God For, not against them; To *submit* to the Worst, not to trample on the Best of them; *To bind Kings in Chains*, and then Behead them, is an *honour* peculiar to the *Saints* of this Age, not Christ's. Calling
V. Platin. in vitâ Greg. 7. a King to an account was the Brat of Pope *Hildebrand*'s brain. Jesuits and Sectaries have broacht and practised it. Our Kalendar presents us with a Fifth of *November*, as well as a Thirtieth of *January*. No Gospel for this, but the *Evangelium Armatum*: It suits well with the *Turkish Alchoran* and the practice of *Janizaries*, to make and unmake their Emperour in a day. Christ bids his Followers *cut off their right hand when it offends* them, not their Soveraign's head, when they but fancy Him offensive. A Doctrine good Christians have ever abhorr'd, The worst of *Jews* we see were asham'd of; nay, the worst of Heathens too utterly disclaim'd; And yet Christians, and they who would be thought the Best, nay, the only true Christians, have allowed, practised and maintain'd.

Applic. But Christians of another make and temper than heretofore, till new lights were hung up; Christians who tell us, That a King may be arraign'd, sentenced and put to death by his People when he fails of his duty, and them-

themselves to be Judges of his failings. A Doctrine, which if in it self true (as it's most false) would prove here of no other use, but to condemn the Authors and Abettors of it, since 'twas most wrongly apply'd by them to One, in whom there were no such Usurpation, Tyranny, Wickedness, or Weakness, as was pretended. For

1. Here was as Lawful a King as God and Nature, Law and the Subjects Oaths, could render Him. Here was τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς, a King *Born*, whom neither Addresses nor Election had made such. A King by Succession (the best Title now that any can have to a Crown) No Mushrome one, sprung up in a night, but the *Son of Nobles*, the blood of so many Royal Veins running in his; one own'd for such even by those that crucify'd Him, in their Inscription of, *Regum Ultimus*.

2. A good, pious Christian and Protestant King. Too good for so ungrateful a People. A People whom He had even loaded and tyred out with his gracious Concessions; that *clothed them* as *Saul* did *Jerusalem*, *in Scarlet with other delights*, brought Peace and Plenty, Wealth and Propriety, Honour and Security, to the Nation, every man safely and quietly *sitting under his own Vine and Fig-tree*. *A nursing Father* also to the Church, under whose happy shelter and Protection it flourished to the admiration and envy of all round about us; A Church, which (as *Augustus* is said to have done to *Rome*) He chang'd from Brick to Marble, reforming its manners as much by His own Royal Example, as He did its Structure by His Bounty and Munificence. Well might He say with His Saviour, *Many good works have I shewn you, for which of those works do ye stone me?* Had He made His Will the Rule of His Government, and that Will revealed it self in twenty years of injustice; Had He worn a Table-Book in

2 Sam. 1. 24.

John 10. 32.

His Pocket with the Names of the Nobility markt in it for slaughter; Had He without any Tryal at Law made His Pleasure pass for Sentence, and lop't off Senators heads as fast as *Tarquin* did *Poppy*'s; Had He in His Oppressions of the People made them feel Times such as *Tacitus* describes, where no man durst be virtuous, lest he should be thought to upbraid his Prince, and where not only mens Words, but their Looks and Sighs were proscrib'd. In a word, Had He with *Caligula*, wish't His Kingdom one head, that He might strike it off at a blow; The Rebellious Principles of his Adversaries might have given them some colourable pretence to cut off His, and He might then seem to have deserved that Title, which their Charity after His death bestowed upon Him, of *Tyrannorum Maximus*. But there was nothing of all this in the case; Here was an Innocent, Just, Virtuous and Religious King, in whom 'tis hard to say, which was most eminent, His Piety to God, or His Love to His subjects; to whom He liv'd a Father, and for whom He dyed a Martyr.

3. A Wise and Able King, whose endowments of mind were answerable to His Virtues, rendring Him worthy of that Scepter He was born to. *In uno hoc Cæsare multi Marii.* Those several perfections scattered in others, all concentred in this Excellent Prince. That Kings have larger *hearts* and abilities than ordinary men, we learn from 1 *Sam.* 10. 9. That this King had, His most implacable Enemies have, to their own shame, often acknowledged.

1 Sam. 10. 9.

These were His Qualities, these His Crimes, for which He deserved Death from those, who had no other reason to implead their Soveraign, than a certain *Roman* had to sue his fellow Citizen at Law, because he would not take that Dagger deep enough into his own bowels wherewith he strove to stab him.

And

And now, *Behold the man.* Such a Perſon this day dying not like *one of the Princes,* but the vileſt of Malefactors, murdered with all the Formalities of Juſtice and Devotion, by ſuch as had no power at all over the life of the meaneſt of their fellow ſubjects; A vertuous, Religious Prince, Profeſſing the ſame Proteſtant Religion and expreſſing the power of it, in his life and at his death, beyond the moſt conſcientious of private men. The Common Shepherd *led like a Sheep to the ſlaughter,* after ſo many Declarations publiſhed and Profeſſions made for his Safety and Honour, in cold blood, moſt barbarouſly Butchered on a Scaffold, by the hand of the Hangman, before that part of His Palace where He had ſo often appeared in State: What name ſhall we find for ſuch a wickedneſs? A crime black as that Hell it came from, and which nothing can equal but the defence of it. A crime ſo infamous to the whole Nation, ſo ſcandalous to the Proteſtant Religion, of ſuch dangerous conſequence to all Soveraign Princes, and of ſuch pernitious laſting effects to the Church and State we live in, that 'tis to be fear'd its Malignity may reach Poſteri ty, and 'twere happy for us if the Example might dye with it's Authors. Theſe indeed, ſome of them, have received the juſt recompence of their reward, and their Puniſhment has been ſignal as their Villany. God has at laſt burnt thoſe rods wherewith he ſcourged this his ſervant, and *their Calamity* did *ariſe* ſo *ſuddainly,* that Themſelves ſcarce foreſaw it. Theſe Malignant Comets, having blazed a little while, quickly expired in a ſtench. Their Riſe was ſuddain, and their Fall too. Children remember the beginning of their glory, and old men have liv'd to ſee an end of it. They are now the Hatred of all men, and ſhall no doubt hereafter be the hiſſing of all Nations. Theſe *Sons of Zeruiah* too *ſtrong* for their Prince, have not been found ſo for the Almighty. For what has been the effect of all their

Policy but destruction to these *Achitophels* and glory to our *David*? That *stone* which these *Babel Builders refused, is now become the head of the Corner.* God has set his Posterity *Upon his Holy hill of Sion,* and may it like that *Sion never be removed, but stand fast for evermore.* May *the Scepter never depart from* this *Jacob,* nor Seed from his Loins, until *Shilo* come again.

To conclude; Let us pay Him, who this day exchanged a Temporal for an Eternal Crown, that Reverence and Respect which is due to the memory of so glorious a Martyr. And the best way to do it will be to honour Him in Him, who is his second Self, the undoubted Heir of his Crown and Vertues, his Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, the lively *Image* and *Superscription* of this Great *Cæsar.* And while we *Render* unto that *Cæsar*'s Son the honour due to Him, we shall at the same time *Render unto God the things that be Gods,* that honour and obedience we owe Him, who has twisted the King's honour with his own, for, *Fear God and honour the King,* are inseparable; and They who so *honour* God in his Vicegerent, Himself will also *honour,* and make them Kings too hereafter, *which God,* &c. *Amen.*

ERRATUM.

Pag. 4. *line* 34. for *those* read *these.*

R43730